THE APOCRYPHAL CHARACTER OF THE EXTANT BRAHMAVAIVARTA PURAṆA

By

Anand Swarup Gupta

[पुराणानां यद्रूपमधुनोपलभ्यते तदेव तेषां प्राचीनं रूपमासीन्नवेत्यत्र विषये विप्रतिपत्तिर्वर्तते । पुराणानि खलु कालक्रमेण सकृदसकृद्वा संशोधितानि परिवर्तितानि वेति बहव आधुनिकविद्वांसो मन्यन्ते । अस्मिंल्लेखे वर्त्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य प्राचीनत्वं मौलिकत्वं चालोचितम् । मत्स्यपुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य यद्वर्णनमुपलभ्यते तदनुसारि नेदं वर्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणमिति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । यद्यप्यस्य पुराणस्य विषये 'कृष्णमाहात्म्यसंयुतम्' इति मात्स्ये कथितम्, परन्तु पद्मपुराणेन राजसपुराणेषु ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणमन्तर्भावितं, राजसानि च पुराणानि ब्रह्ममाहात्म्यपराणीति च मात्स्यं मन्यते, ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणदानस्य ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तिरूपं फलमपि च तत्रैव मात्स्ये स्कान्दे चोक्तम्, अतः प्राचीने ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते 'ब्रह्मा' एव प्रधानदेव आसीत्, यस्यैव माहात्म्यं तत्र बाहुल्येनावर्त्तत, कृष्णमाहात्म्यमपि तस्मिन्नसाधारणविषयत्वेनाविद्यत न तु प्रधानविषयत्वेनेत्यनुमीयते । वर्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे तु कृष्णस्यैव प्राधान्यं वर्तते, स एव तत्र सत्यमक्षरं निर्गुणं परं ब्रह्मेति मन्यते, शिवब्रह्मादयो देवाः, लक्ष्मीसरस्वत्यादयो देव्यश्च कृष्णस्यैव आविर्भावा इत्यपि तत्र कथितम् । एशियाटिकसोसाइटी-बंगाल-सविधे कस्यचिद् 'आदिब्रह्मवैवर्त्तमहापुराणस्य' द्वौ कोशौ विद्येते, तद् 'आदिब्रह्मवैवर्त्तमहापुराणं' तु वर्त्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्त्तमहापुराणात् सर्वथा भिद्यते—इति तयोः कोशयोः प्रदत्तानाम् अध्यायपुष्पिकाणामवलोकनेनैव प्रतीयते । पुनश्च, ख्रीस्तीयषोडशशताब्दीकाले वर्तमानैः स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारप्रभृतिभिर्बहुभिर्निबन्धकारैः तदानीन्तनस्य ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणस्य बहवः श्लोकाः स्वनिबन्धग्रन्थेषूद्धृताः, परं ते वर्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणे नैवोपलभ्यन्ते—इत्यादिभिः प्रमाणैर्वर्तमानब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणस्यार्वाचीनत्वं संदिग्धप्रमाणत्वं च सूच्यते । 'दक्षिणा', 'षष्ठीदेवी', मङ्गलचण्डी', 'मनसादेवी' च देव्योऽत्र वर्णिताः तासां पूजा च विहिता, एतासां देवीनां पूजा च वंगदेशे प्रचरति, अतः वंगदेशे ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तपुराणमिदं रचितमासीदिति हरप्रसादशास्त्रिणोऽपि मतम् ।]

Although the Veda or Śruti has been regarded as the primary source of dharma[1], yet the religion of the Hindu Society

1. *Cf. Manusmriti* 2. 13b—'धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः' ।।

has been predominantly Puranic. The Purāṇas, therefore, occupy a very important position in the whole domain of the ancient Indian literature. While the Vedas were reserved mainly for the highly intelligent and educated section of the upper classes (the dvijas) of the Hindu Society, the Purāṇas were meant for the masses. They were in fact the Veda of the laity, and in this respect they occupied a higher position even than of the Vedas[1]. They have been the main sources of inspiration for the religious thoughts and activities of the Hindus, and also formed the important factors in moulding the Hindu Society. But in order to retain their authoritative character, the Purāṇas had to keep pace with the vicissitudes through which the Hindu Society passed owing to the varying political, economic and rēligious condition of the country. So with the changes of the society the Purāṇas also underwent periodical revisions and modifications, so much so that many of the Purāṇas have lost their original form, and have become altogether new works, although retaining the same old titles. Such Purāṇas, therefore, do not present a true and genuine picture of the ancient religion and culture of India, but they give us a muddy picture of late sectarianism.

Almost every Purāṇa has been subjected to one or more revisions and editions. But there are some Purāṇas, such as Vishṇu, Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, which have retained much of their old and genuine character; while there are some other Purāṇas which have almost lost their original form, although bearing the same old titles. The apocryphal character of such Purāṇas becomes evident on a closer study. The extant Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa is also regarded by many modern scholars as one of such apocryphal works.

Mr. H. H. Wilson, in the preface to his English translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa remarks, 'The Brahmavaivarta has not the slightest title to be regarded as a Purāṇa.' According to him it is a sectarial work of a very late origin. M. M. Dr.

1. *Cf. Nāradīya* P., 2. 24. 17a—'वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं वरानने ।'

Haraprasada Shastri, in his preface to the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (Vol. V) deposited in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, remarks—"The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa in the present shape can not be very old......There seems to have existed a Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa very different from the one which we now possess." Dr. R. C. Hazra is also of opinion that certain genuine Purāṇas were later on replaced by spurious works bearing the same title, and one of such works he mentions is the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa also[1]. The following few facts prove the apocryphal character of the extant Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa:

1. The Matsya Purāṇa in its Adh. 53 gives the following description of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa :—

रथंतरस्य कल्पस्य वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य यत् ।
सावर्णिना नारदाय कृष्णमाहात्म्यसंयुतम् ॥
यत्र ब्रह्मवराहस्य चरितं वर्ण्यते मुहुः ।
तदष्टादशसाहस्रं ब्रह्मवैवर्तमुच्यते ॥

Thus, according to the Matsya Purāṇa the original Brahmavaivarta was narrated by Sāvarṇi to Nārada, and contained the Māhātmya or glorification of Śrī-Krishṇa and a repeated account of Brahma-Varāha with a reference to the occurence of the Rathaṁtara Kalpa. The extant Brahmavaivarta, however, says that it was narrated by Nārāyaṇa Ṛishi to Nārada—'नारायणर्षिर्भगवान् प्रददौ नारदाय च' (I. 1. 64a)[2], it does not contain the account of Brahma-Varāha, and has no reference to Rathaṁtara Kalpa. The absence of these important characteristics, which have been mentioned by such old authority as the Matsya Purāṇa, and the predominance in it of the glorification of Rādhā and Krishṇa prove its apocryphal character, and make it a work of some later age when the cult of the bhakti of Rādhā-Kṛishṇa

1. *Cf.* Dr. R. C. Hazara's article 'Studies in the genuine Āgneya Purāṇa' published in '*Our Heritage*' Vol. I (1953) pp. 210-245.

2. All the references of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa have been given here from its Ānandāśrama edition.

had great influence in the Hindu Society, specially among the Hindus of the eastern districts of India where the extant Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa seems to have been composed[1].

2. The Matsya divides the Purāṇas into four categories as follows :—

सात्त्विकेषु पुराणेषु माहात्म्यमधिकं हरेः ।
राजसेषु च माहात्म्यमधिकं ब्रह्मणो विदुः ॥
तद्वदग्नेश्च माहात्म्यं तामसेषु शिवस्य च ।
संकीर्णेषु सरस्वत्याः पितॄणां च निगद्यते ॥

(53. 68-69)

Thus the sāttvika Purāṇas predominantly glorify Harī or Vishṇu, the rājasa glorify Brahmā, the tāmasa glorify Śiva, and the saṁkīrṇa or composite glorify Sarasvatī and the Pitṛis. The Padma Purāṇa places the Brahmavaivarta among the rājasa Purāṇas which according to the Matsya belong to the Brahmā-cult :—

ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तं मार्कण्डेयं तथैव च ।
भविष्यं वामनं ब्राह्मं राजसानि निबोध मे ॥

(Ān. ed., Uttara Khaṇḍa, 264. 34)

So, according to the Padma Purāṇa the Brahmavaivarta is a rājasa Purāṇa having Brahmā as its highest deity; and according to the Śiva-rahasya Khaṇḍa of the Śaṅkara-Saṁhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa (Chap. 2. verses 30-5) the Sun (Savitṛi)

1. The extant Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa mentions the names of certain goddesses, such as Shashṭhī Devī, Maṅgalachaṇḍikā, Mānasī (or Manasā Devī) and Dakshiṇā (see *Prakriti Khanda*, 4.8), and contains their upākhyānas and Stotras etc. (*Ibid.*, Adhyāyas 42-46). These goddesses are worshipped mainly in the eastern districts of India. This Purāṇa also enjoins the worship of Goddess Sarasvatī on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. (*Ibid*, 4, 83 ff.), which is still prevalent in Bengal. Again, this Purāṇa mentions certain mixed castes, such as Jolā and Vaidya etc. (Brahmakhaṇḍa, Adh. 10, Śl. 121, 123) which are found only in Bengal.

is its highest deity[1]. All this show that Kṛishṇa was not the main deity of the original Brahma-Vaivarta. But in the extant Brahma-Vaivarta Śrī-Kṛishṇa with his consort Rādhā is the supreme deity from the beginning to the end.

The present BV. Purāṇa is divided into four Khaṇḍas :— (1) Brahma-Khaṇḍa, (2) Prakṛiti-Khaṇḍa, (3) Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa and (4) Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Janma-Khaṇḍa. Some meagre account of Brahmā is contained in the Brahma-Khaṇḍa only and there also he has been subordinated to Śrī-Krishṇa. This Khaṇḍa contains only 30 chapters, whereas the Śrīkṛishṇa-Janma-khaṇḍa, which constitutes the main bulk of this Purāṇa, contains 133 chapters. It is clearly the work of the Bhāgavata-Vaishṇavas who joined hands with the Śaivas to overshadow the cult of Brahmā-worshippers, and they might have also modified or completely changed the genuine Brahma-vaivarta to propagate their own views. Śiva is generally regarded as tāmasa, and the Matsya Purāṇa also says that tāmasa Purāṇas are those which mainly glorify Śiva ; but the present Brahma-vaivarta says that both Vishṇu and Śiva are sāttvika, and only the ignorant fools regard Śiva as tāmasa—

राजसश्च स्वयं ब्रह्मा शिवो विष्णुश्च सात्त्विकौ ॥
परमज्ञानिनो मूर्खा वदन्ति तामसं शिवम् ॥

(Brahma-khaṇḍa, 8. 20b , 21b)

Thus the genuine Brahma-vaivarta, a work of the Brahmā-worshippers, has been superseded by the extant Brahma-vaivarta through the combined efforts of the Vaishṇavas and Śaivas. It is on this account that it, being a Vaishṇava work, exhibits a spirit of religious toleration towards the Śaivas also.

The present Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa (Ān. ed.) contains four khaṇḍas, as has been said before. Following the footsteps of Śrīmad Bhāgavata (which also has Śrīkrishṇa as its main

1. See J. Eggling, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, VI, Nos. 3671-2, p. 1368, referred to by R.C. Hazra, *op. cit.* p. 210, f.n. 4.

Deity, and which divides its tenth Skandha into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha) it also divides its Śrī-Krishṇa-Janma-Khaṇḍa into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha. Moreover, like the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa it also attributes ten characteristics (lakshaṇas) instead of the famous pañcha lakshaṇas, to the Mahāpurāṇas, and remarks that the five lakshaṇas (viz. Sarga, Pratisarga, Vaṁśa, Manvantaras, and Vaṁśānucharita) belong to the Upapurāṇas (cf. Bhāg. XII. 7. 9-10 ; and BV. IV. 12. 6-11)

Although the original Brahma-vaivarta, according to the Matsya and some other Purāṇas, contained Kṛishṇa-māhātmya as its special topic, yet this māhātmya might not have been the main topic there, as is the case with the extant Brahma-vaivarta, because the original Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa has been regarded as a rājasa Purāṇa with Brahmā as its principal Deity.

In the present Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa Kṛishṇa has been regarded as the Absolute Brahman, the Unconditioned Supreme Being beyond Prakṛiti, residing in the Goloka with the Rādhā and the cowherds, in the form of a young Gopa with two hands and with a flute in his hands (I. 12. 64-65), whom the Vaishṇavas meditate upon (I. 2). Vaishṇavas have been praised as great Yogis and saints (I 1. 48), even a sinner gets salvation by a mere touch of a Vaishṇava follower ('वैष्णवस्पर्शमात्रेण मुक्तो भवति पातकी' IV. 1. 65). A Vaishṇava Chaṇḍāla is superior to a non-Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇa ('अवैष्णवाद् द्विजाद् विप्र चण्डालो वैष्णवो वरः' I. 11. 39). It should be noted that the word 'Vaishṇava' here is not a general term for a devotee of God, for this Purāṇa is very explicit in defining a Vaishṇava—only that man is to be called 'Vaishṇava' who belongs to the Vaishṇava sect, and who has been duly initiated by a guru into the Vaishṇava fold by imparting him the Vishṇu-mantra ; such an initiated Vaishṇava is extremely pure and jīvan-mukta (I. 11. 41, 42), and he certainly attains Goloka (I. 12. 23).

Thus the ancient Brahma-vaivarta of the Brahmā-cult has been superseded by the extant Brahma-vaivarta of the Vaishṇava-cult.

3. That the genuine Brahma-vaivarta was originally a work of the Brahmā-cult, and not of the Vaishṇava cult, is also indicated by the following statement of the Matsya and the Skanda Purāṇa :—

पुराणं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं यो दद्यान्माघमासि च ।
पौर्णमास्यां शुभदिने ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

(Matsya, 53. 35)

पुराणं ब्रह्मवैवर्तं यो दद्याद् ब्राह्मणोत्तमे ।
माघमासे पौर्णमास्यां ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

(Skanda, 7. 1. 2. 53)

Thus a person who gives a copy of the Brahmavaivarta to a worthy Brāhmaṇa is said to attain the Brahma-loka (the region of Brahmā). The Saura Purāṇa (9. 27) also makes the similar statement. But according to the present BV. Purāṇa Brahma-loka is far inferior to Goloka and is never the goal of the worshippers of Kṛishṇa who unfailingly attain the Goloka, the eternal abode of supreme bliss :—

यत्पक्ष्मचालनेनैव ब्रह्मणः पतनं भवेत् ।
तद् ब्रह्मत्वं स्वप्नतुल्यं कृष्णभक्तो न चेच्छति ॥

(I. 12. 33)

...कृष्णभक्तश्च गोलोकं याति निश्चितम् ॥

(I. 14, 58)

4. The ancient Purāṇic literature contains little of tāntrika element which has definitely an independent origin and growth. But the extant BV. Purāṇa abounds in tāntricism; its Prakṛiti-khaṇḍa and Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa are specially full of tāntric kavachas, bījas, and Pūjā-vidhis. This tāntric element incorporated into the body of its text clearly proves the late origin or the total revision of the extant Brahma-vaivarta. On account of this tāntric element the Brahma-vaivarta, as it is available today, loses much of its genuine character.

5. A number of Nibandha-works (such as Smṛiti-Chandrikā, Hemādri's Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi, Kāla-nirṇaya, Kāla-sāra, Raghunandana's Smṛiti-tattva, Haribhakti-vilāsa etc.) belonging to the sixteenth century A. D. have drawn upon a Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa. About 1500 lines of that Brahmavaivarta have been quoted in these works, but only 30 of these lines are found in the extant Brahmavaivarta (in its IV khaṇḍa). The absence of the remaining lines in the present Brahmavaivarta shows that it was not the work from which those Nibandhakāras quoted in their works. So this Brahma-vaivarta was not known even to the Nibandhakāras of the sixteenth century.[1] This proves its apocryphal character.

6. In vol. V of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are mentioned two Devanāgarī Mss. of the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa—Nos. 3820 and 3821, both of which are fragmentary and incomplete. Both these Mss. begin from Adh. 29. Ms. No. 3820 contains 55 folios only, while Ms. 3821 has 113 folios, and is comparatively older. Some of their chapter-colophons show that both these Mss. belong to a different Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa called 'Ādi Brahma-vaivarta Mahāpurāṇa' which was quite different from the extant Brahma-vaivarta[2] (Ān. and Vaṅgavāsī

1. cf. Hazra's *Paurāṇic Records*, P. 160.

2. The chapter-colophons of Ms. No 3821, as quoted in the above Catalogue, are given below, so that the difference between the Ādi and the extant Brahmavaivarta may be clearly seen :—

Folio 4 A—इति श्रीमहापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्ते क्रोधप्रशमनोपायनिरूपणे पराशरोपाख्याने एकोनत्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः (Same also in Ms. 3820, folis 3 A—इत्यादि महापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्ते॰); 6 A—॰ब्रह्मवैवर्ताख्ये प्रतिसर्गांशे दयाप्रशंसायां वसिष्ठगीतासु त्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ; 18 A—योगप्रशंसानामाध्यायः ; 18B—इत्यादिमहापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्ते भक्ष्याभक्ष्यप्रतिमाश्राद्धवि-सामान्यधर्मैकथनं नाम त्रयस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ; 28B—इति श्री॰ प्रतिसर्गांशे व्यासशुकसंवादे षड्गुरूपदेशो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः (Same also in Ms, No. 3820, folio 16B—इत्यादि-महापुराणे॰) ; 31A—इति श्री॰ प्रतिसर्गांशे विद्योपदेशाधिकरणनिरूपणं नाम सप्तत्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ; 37 A—इति श्री॰ अष्टममहावासरः समाप्तः ; 39 A—इत्यादिमहापुराणे एकादशीमाहात्म्यं चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ; 45 A—॰विंशत्यवतारितं नाम द्वाचत्वारिंशत्तमो-

editions both). This Ādi Brahma-vaivarta Mahāpurāṇa contained very little account of Kṛishṇa and his Prakṛitis. Its chapters 29th and 30th contained पराशरोपाख्यान and वशिष्ठगीता respectively :—

इत्यादिमहापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते क्रोधप्रशमनोपायनिरूपणे
पराशरोपाख्याने एकोनत्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः । (Both Mss.)

इति श्रीमहापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ताख्ये प्रतिसर्गांशे दयाप्रशंसायां
वसिष्ठगीतासु त्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः । (Ms. 3821)

But the corresponding chapters in the extant Brahma-vaivarta are quite different and do not at all contain these topics, they contain श्रीकृष्णमाहात्म्यवर्णन and भगवत्स्तुतिवर्णन respectively. The Ādi Brahma-vaivarta Mahā-Purāṇa differed from the extant Brahma-vaivarta in several other respects also, which a perusal of its chapter-colophons, as given in the above mentioned Descriptive Catalogue, will show.[1] It seems that it was not divided into separate Khaṇḍas as the extant Brahma-vaivarta is, but contained continuous chapters. Its extent was also much less. The Nāradīya Mahāpurāṇa was not in the know of such a Brahma-vaivarta, because it mentions the same four Khaṇḍas of the Brahma-vaivarta, which the extant Brahma-vaivarta contains. So the Ādi Brahma-vaivarta of the above mentioned Mss. might be more ancient than the present Nāradīya Mahāpurāṇa.[2]

ऽध्यायः ; 49 B—कालस्वरूपनामाध्यायः ; 52 A—॰कलिस्वरूपवर्णने कालप्रशंसा-नाम चतुः चत्वारिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ; 55 A—॰पतिव्रतोपाख्याने षट्चत्वारिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ; 57 B—पतिव्रतोपाख्याने तापसधर्मव्याधसंवादे ४७ अध्यायः ; 61 B—अशोकोपाख्याने ४८ अध्यायः ; 63 A—नरकजन्तुनिवेदनं नाम ५२ अध्यायः; 80 A—दत्तात्रेयोत्पत्तिर्नामाध्यायः ; 84 A—ग्रामशान्तिपालनप्रशंसा नाम सर्गः ; 91 A—गोदानमाहात्म्यं दानकालनिर्णयो नाम सर्गः ; 92 B—श्रियार्थविधिर्नाम सर्गः ; 107 B—ऋषभगीता ऋषभचरितं नामाध्यायः ; 113—इत्यादि महापुराणे ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते अमृतोत्पत्तिः श्रीजन्माध्यायः ।

1. See f.n. 2 on p. 99 above.

2. The antiquity of this Ādi Brahmavaivarta Mahāpurāṇa may also be inferred from the following facts :—

The Ādi BV. mentions twenty Avatāras of Vishṇu in its Adhyāya 42 (see f.n. 2, p.99 above), like the Bhāgavata which also mentions about the same number of Avatāras in I. 3, II. 7 and IV. 8. But in the *Daśāvatāra-Stotra* of Kshemendra

7. The Nāradīya Mahāpurāṇa (Pūrva Khaṇḍa, Adh. 101) gives the same characteristics and extent of the Brahma-vaivarta as given in the other Purāṇas. In almost all the Purāṇas which give the list of the eighteen Mahā Pmāṇas, the extent of the Brahma-vaivarta is given as 18,000 ślokas. But the Ānandāśrama and the Vaṅga-vāsī editions of the Brahma-vaivarta contain more than 22,000 ślokas, and the Veṅkteśvara edition contains about 25,0J0 ślokas. So the extant Brahma-vaivarta contains about 5,000 ślokas as later additions; and its remaining portion is also a completely revised work.[1]

In short, the extant Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa is not the same work as described by the Matsya and the other Purāṇas. It is a revised, enlarged and totally changed work, and is most probably an apocryphal work of the Bhāgavatas or Krishṇa-worshippers, compiled in the eastern part of India (specially in Bengal), and perhaps in the early Muhammadan period of Indian history.[2]

(11th century A.D.) and in the Vishṇupura-Cards (7th or 8th century A.D.) the number of Avatāras is given as ten. The larger number of Avatāras given in a work often indicates its older date. So the Ādi BV, must belong to the same antiquity as the Bhāg. i. e. to the time before the Vishṇupura-Cards, or to the Gupta Period. (*Vide* also H. P. Shastri's perface to his D. C., Vol. V, pp. LXXXVII, CLX).

Again, the Ādi BV. contains a chapter on the Ākhyāyikās of six Gurus (०षड्गुरूपदेशो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः, f.n. 2, p. 99 above). Although these stories are referred to in the Ākhyāyikā-Adhyāya (IV) of the *Sāṁkhya-Sūtra* (Sutras 1, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14), but they are really based on a much more ancient work of Sāṁkhya philosophy, viz. the *Shashti-tantra* of Pañchaśikha, which also contained these and other ākhyāyikās (cf. Iśvara Krishṇa's *Sāṁkhya-Kārikā*, 72). So this Ādi BV. must have been an old work. (*Cf.* also H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, preface, p. clx)

1. *cf.* H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, preface, p. clvi.

2. The extant Bv. Purāṇa contains also the description of the Mlechchhas as follows :—

अविद्धकर्णाः शूराश्च निर्भया रणदुर्जयाः ।
शौचाचारविहीनाश्च दुर्धर्षा धर्मवर्जिताः ॥

(Brahmakhaṇḍa, 10, 1?0)

Surely, the Mlechchhas referred to here are no others than the Muhammadans, for the mixed caste Jolā, which is said to have been produced by a Mlechchha in a Kuvinda (weaver) girl ('म्लेच्छात्कुविन्दकन्यायां जोलाजातिर्बभूव ह' I. 10. 121a), is still considered a Muhammadan caste in Bengal.